

# PACEM IN TERRIS IV

---

A national convocation to consider  
the foreign policy issues in the  
1976 Presidential campaign

to be assembled at the  
Sheraton-Park Hotel,  
Washington, D.C.  
December 1-4, 1975

by

The Fund for Peace and the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions



Justice, right reason,  
and humanity  
urgently demand  
that the arms race  
should cease; that  
stockpiles which  
exist in various  
countries should be  
reduced equally and  
simultaneously by the  
parties concerned;  
that nuclear weapons  
should be banned,  
and that a general  
agreement should  
eventually be reached  
about progressive  
disarmament and an  
effective method  
of control.

*Pope John XXIII  
Pacem in Terris  
Easter Encyclical, 1963*

*December 1*

---

# PACEM IN TERRIS IV

*A national convocation to consider  
the foreign policy issues  
in the 1976 Presidential campaign*

---

This opening session is subject to the availability of the principal speakers. When the plenary session is officially confirmed, all those who have made reservations for the Convocation sessions described on the following pages will be notified by mail, and will be given priority in issuing admission tickets.

*Monday evening  
8:00 to 10:00*

*December 2*

---

The National Interest

*Tuesday morning  
9:30 to 12:30*

Détente in Practice: Problems, Opportunities, and Pitfalls  
*Henry A. Kissinger\*, Edward M. Kennedy*

Major issues: The practical extent of Soviet-American cooperation; the significance of détente for world peace and the American national interest; the prospects for philosophical (ideological) convergence; implications for China and the Third World.

Critique PANEL MEMBERS: Richard J. Barnet, Jacob K. Javits,  
George F. Kennan, Hans J. Morgenthau, Fred Warner Neal

---

*Tuesday afternoon  
2:00 to 5:00*

National Security and the Economy  
*William E. Simon, Thomas Bradley*

Major issues: The impact of foreign policy on the economy in terms of employment, inflation, income distribution, social priorities, effect on the environment; concentration of power in federal government; impact on federalism and federal-local governmental relations.

Critique PANEL MEMBERS: Otis L. Graham, Jr., Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.,  
Seymour Melman, Alice M. Rivlin

December 3

II

The Global Condition

The Economic Dimension

*Robert O. Anderson, Maurice F. Strong*

*Wednesday morning*

*9:30 to 12:30*

Major issues: Trade and aid; population; the multinational corporation vs. national sovereignty; international monetary arrangements; scientific development and technological change.

Critique PANEL MEMBERS: Neil H. Jacoby, Gerald Parsky |

Lord Ritchie-Calder, (confirmation of other panelists pending) |

The Military Posture

*Les Aspin, James Schlesinger*

*Wednesday afternoon*

*2:00 to 5:00*

Major issues: Arms control; balance and "equivalence"; the "doctrine of credibility"; nuclear proliferation and the thermonuclear danger; force levels, military alliances and military sales.

Critique PANEL MEMBERS: Joseph S. Clark, Gene R. LaRocque,

Benjamin Rosenthal, Herbert R. York, Elmo Zumwalt

The Political Dimension

*John Brademas, Daniel Patrick Moynihan\**

*Wednesday evening*

*8:00 to 11:00*

Major issues: Cooperation or confrontation in the United Nations between the great powers and developing nations; relations of the superpowers in the United Nations; pressures of economic interdependence toward creation of new supranational institutions; voting in the United Nations, blocs and Charter reform.

Critique PANEL MEMBERS: Elisabeth Mann Borgese, Roberto E. Guyer,

Philip C. Jessup, Soedjatmoko, Kenneth W. Thompson

December 4

---

III

Foreign Policy as a Domestic Issue

Thursday morning  
9:30 to 12:30

National Security and the Democratic Process  
*Frank Church, William Colby*

Major issues: The impact of a "Cold War foreign policy" on the American system; political consequences of secrecy, espionage and counter-subversion; how to control the CIA and the FBI; elitism and the "imperial Presidency"; public honesty versus public lying; manipulation of public opinion and pressures against the news media; violations of civil rights; the role of Congress in curbing Executive authority.

Critique PANEL MEMBERS: Ray Cline, Morton Halperin,  
Charles Morgan, Andrew Young

---

Thursday afternoon  
2:00 to 5:00

Key Foreign Policy Issues in the 1976 Campaign

Summary Discussion  
*Speakers and panelists to be announced*

Adjournment

# SPEAKERS AND PARTICIPANTS

---

Robert M. Hutchins,  
Randolph Compton,  
Co-Chairmen

Harry S. Ashmore,  
Secretary-General

Steering Committee:  
Fred Warner Neal,  
Carl Marcy,  
Kenneth W. Thompson

Peter Tagger,  
Executive Director

Stephen Paschke,  
Treasurer

Robert O. Anderson  
Chairman, Atlantic Richfield Company

Harry S. Ashmore  
Associate,  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;  
Former Editor-in-Chief, Encyclopaedia Britannica

Les Aspin  
Member, U.S. House of Representatives

Richard J. Barnet  
Co-founder and Co-director, Institute for Policy Studies;  
Former official, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament  
Agency; Former Consultant, Department of Defense

Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Associate,  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;  
Chairman, (ex officio), International Ocean Institute

Robert Borosage  
Director,  
Center for National Security Studies

John Brademas  
Member, U.S. House of Representatives

Thomas Bradley  
Mayor of Los Angeles, California

Frank Church  
United States Senator from Idaho;  
Chairman,  
Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

Joseph S. Clark  
Former United States Senator from Pennsylvania;  
Chairman,  
Coalition on National Priorities and Military Policy

William Colby  
Director, Central Intelligence Agency

Randolph P. Compton  
Chairman, Board of Trustees, The Fund for Peace

James H. Douglas, Jr.  
Member, Board of Trustees,  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;  
Former Deputy Secretary of Defense

Otis L. Graham, Jr.  
Associate,  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;  
Professor of History,  
University of California at Santa Barbara

Roberto E. Guyer  
United Nations Under Secretary-General for Special Affairs

Morton Halperin  
Senior Consultant,  
Center for National Security Studies;  
Former Deputy Secretary of Defense

Michael Harrington\*  
Author, *The Other America*;  
Member, Editorial Board, *Dissent*

Robert M. Hutchins  
President,  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;  
Former President, University of Chicago

Neil H. Jacoby  
Associate,  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;  
Professor, Graduate School of Management,  
University of California at Los Angeles;  
Presidential Economic Advisor

Jacob K. Javits  
United States Senator from New York

Philip C. Jessup  
Former Justice, International Court of Justice;  
Former Professor of International Law,  
Columbia University

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.  
Executive Director, National Urban League

George F. Kennan  
Former United States Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.  
and to Yugoslavia

Edward M. Kennedy  
United States Senator from Massachusetts

Henry A. Kissinger\*  
United States Secretary of State

Edward Lamb  
Member, Board of Trustees,  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;  
Chairman, Lamb Enterprises

Gene R. LaRocque  
Rear Admiral, U.S.N. (Ret.);  
Director, Center for Defense Information

Mike Mansfield  
United States Senator from Montana;  
Senate Majority Leader

Carl Marcy  
Editor, *Foreign Affairs Newsletter*;  
Former Chief of Staff,  
Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Frances McAllister  
Member, Board of Trustees,  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

Eugene J. McCarthy  
Former United States Senator from Minnesota

John A. McCone\*  
Former Director,  
Central Intelligence Agency

Seymour Melman  
Professor of Industrial Engineering,  
Columbia University

Charles Morgan  
Washington, D.C. Director,  
American Civil Liberties Union

\*Subject to re-confirmation

Hans J. Morgenthau  
Albert A. Michelson Distinguished Service Professor of  
Political Science and Modern History Emeritus,  
University of Chicago

Stewart Rawlings Mott  
Member, Board of Trustees, The Fund for Peace;  
Member, Board of Trustees,  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

Daniel Patrick Moynihan\*  
United States Ambassador to the United Nations

Fred Warner Neal  
Associate,  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;  
Professor of International Relations and Government,  
Claremont Graduate School

Gerald Parsky  
Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for  
International Affairs

J. R. Parten  
Chairman, Board of Trustees,  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

Peter G. Peterson\*  
Former United States Secretary of Commerce

Dixy Lee Ray\*  
Former Chairman,  
Atomic Energy Commission

Lord Ritchie-Calder  
Labor Member, House of Lords;  
Associate,  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;  
Recipient, UNESCO Kalinga Prize

Alice M. Rivlin  
Director, Congressional Office of the Budget

Benjamin Rosenthal  
Member, U.S. House of Representatives

James R. Schlesinger  
United States Secretary of Defense;  
Former Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission

William E. Simon  
United States Secretary of the Treasury

Soedjatmoko  
Member,  
Indonesian Development and Planning Board;  
Former Ambassador to the United States

Maurice F. Strong\*  
Executive Director,  
United Nations Environment Program

Kenneth W. Thompson  
Director of Program on Higher Education,  
International Council on Educational Development;  
Former Vice-President, The Rockefeller Foundation

Ralph W. Tyler  
Vice-President,  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;  
Former Director, The Center for Advanced Study  
in the Behavioral Sciences

Bernard Weissbourd  
Member, Board of Trustees,  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;  
President, Metropolitan Structures

Leonard Woodcock  
President, United Automobile Workers

Herbert R. York\*  
Professor of Physics,  
University of California at San Diego;  
Science Advisor to Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy

Andrew Young  
Member, U.S. House of Representatives

Elmo Zumwalt,  
Admiral, U.S.N. (Ret.)

\*Subject to re-confirmation